The Southern PATRIOT

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Dallas Citizens Ask Integration

An interracial group in Dallas presented to the School Board a letter asking for immediate integration of the city's schools.

The group, the Dallas Citizens for Peaceful Integration, told the board it was apparently underestimating "the strength of enlightened sentiment in this community."

The action of the citizens' group was another indication of the support for integration in the white community in Dallas, as well as among Negroes. Previously 300 leading white ministers of the city had come out in favor of integration.

Dallas schools are under court order to desegregate, but the Board announced in June that there would be no beginning this fall because of conflict between Federal and State laws. Later in the summer the Board instructed its attorneys to file suit to test the validity of state laws barring desegregation.

The Dallas Citizens for Peaceful Integration is headed by SCEF Board Member Richard H. Powers. He said the organization would also circulate the letter as a petition.

White Liberals Under Fire

Southern Negro Leaders Protest

More than 200 of the outstanding Negro leaders of the South have publicly and dramatically defended Southern white liberals under attack for their work for racial equality. This courageous act reflected a new level of unity between Negroes and white integrationists in the region.

The event which precipitated the Negro leaders action was a visit by the House Committee on Un-American Activities to Atlanta in late July. The leaders sent an open letter to every member of the U. S. House of Representatives urging that the committee be kept out of the South unless it was going to investigate such un-American activities as the bombing of Negro homes and churches and the general denial of civil rights in the South.

Signers of the letter said they felt that the Committee, rather than investigating these things, would follow the lead of earlier probes by Senator James Eastland's committee in harassing white people working for integration and attempting to label them as "subversive." (Complete text of letter, with list of signers, appears on page 2.)

The letter, which was coordinated by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, was widely publicized throughout the country. Liberals, North and South, paid tribute to the solidarity it indicated across racial lines in the South.

I. F. Stone, a leading independent Washington newspaper man, commented in his weekly newsletter: "In the South the dissenting white is more isolated and helpless than the Negro; he has no community to sustain him . . . In this context, it was an act of courage and human solidarity for these Southern Negro leaders to risk the Committee's ire by a public protest."

When the Committee hearings were held in Atlanta, events proved that the signers of the open letter were justified in their suspicions as to the course it would take.

Committee spokesmen denied ahead of time that they would investigate the integration movement and said they were looking for Communism in the South. But Governor Marvin Griffin of Georgia publicly welcomed the Commit-

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Those Who Shape Future in Virginia and Arkansas

As the Patriot went to press in late August, it was anybody's guess as to what would happen in Little Rock, Ark., and Arlington, Charlottesville, and Norfolk, Va., when the time came for schools to open in September.

One thing, however, was sure: many in both states, white as well as Negro, had made every effort to insure that integration would come and that it would come peacefully.

There is the local leadership of the NAACP, which has not only carried the legal fight to open the schools but has also tried to help solve the human problems faced by those who must take the initiative—the Negro children and their parents. For example, early this summer in Charlottesville the NAACP conducted a workshop for Negro school children, helping prepare them for what might lie ahead and teaching them to meet evil only with good and to do nothing that might provoke violence. Later a similar workshop was held for parents.

In both Virginia and Arkansas, there are the white liberals who through human relations councils and similar organizations have conducted a public education program, striving to create a climate of opinion favorable to integration.

There are the white ministers in all these crucial communities who have urged tolerance among their congregations, many of them speaking publicly to the community.

There are the white church members who have demanded that their churches not condone segregation by opening their buildings for private white-only schools.

And then there are the civic leaders in Arlington, who formed a committee to save their public school system—even though many of them were not in favor of integration as such. There are the white parents in Charlottesville who voted in a P.T.A. poll that they would prefer to see integration than to have the schools closed.

The voices of bigotry may be loud from Virginia and Arkansas by the time this issue of the Patriot reaches you, and the voices of these people who have been working on the side of human decency may be drowned out in the tumult. The world should know that they are there and that they have been neither silent nor inactive—and that if they had received long ago the proper support from the White House their position would have been much stronger. If integration in any measure is achieved this year, it will be because of the work they have done. If integration is temporarily stymied either by loud mobs or by quiet and efficient state officials, we can be sure that the victory is temporary because of the Virginians and Arkansans, Negro and white, who will be continuing their efforts to preserve their school systems and to make them democratic.

Text of Open Letter to the U.S. Congress

We are informed that the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives is planning to hold hearings in Atlanta, Georgia, at an early date.

As Negroes residing in Southern states and the District of Columbia, all deeply involved in the struggle to secure full and equal rights for our people, we are very much concerned by this development.

We are acutely aware of the fact that there is at the present time a shocking amount of un-American activity in our Southern states. To cite only a few examples, there are the bombings of the homes, schools, and the houses of worship of not only Negroes but also of our Jewish citizens; the terror against Negroes in Dawson, Ga.; the continued refusal of boards of registrars in many Southern communities to allow Negroes to register and vote; and the activities of White Citizens Councils encouraging open defiance of the United States Supreme Court.

However, there is nothing in the record of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to indicate that, if it comes South, it will investigate these things. On the contrary, all of its activities in recent years suggest that it is much more interested in harassing and labeling as "subversive" any citizen who is inclined to be liberal or an independent thinker.

For this reason, we are alarmed at the prospect of this committee coming South to follow the lead of Senator Eastland, as well as several state investigating committees, in trying to attach the "subversive" label to any liberal white Southerner who dares to raise his voice in support of our democratic ideals.

It was recently pointed out by four Negro leaders who met with President Eisenhower that one of our great needs in the South is to build lines of communication between Negro and white Southerners. Many people in the South are seeking to do this. But if white people who support integration are labeled "subversive" by Congressional committees, terror is spread among our white citizens and it becomes increasingly difficult to find white people who are willing to support our efforts for full citizenship. Southerners, white and Negro, who strive today for full democracy must work at best against tremendous odds. They need the support of every agency of our Federal Government. It is unthinkable that they should instead be harassed by committees of the United States Congress.

We therefore urge you to use your influence to see that the House Committee on Un-American Activities stays out of the South—unless it can be persuaded to come to our region to help defend us against those subversives who oppose our Supreme Court, our Federal policy of civil rights for all, and our American ideals of equality and brotherhood.

Signers of Letter

(Organizations mentioned for identification purposes only.)

ALABAMA: P. E. Ammons and Mae Basey, Tuskegee Institute; Clarence E. Crayton, Mobile; Dr. Ira L. Ferguson, Talladega College; Charles G. Gomillion, president, Tuskegee Civic Association; Jessie P. Guzman, director of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute; Woodrow W. Hall, Tuskegee; the Rev. Oliver W. Holmes, Talladega College; Dr. James O. Hopson; Charles W. Kelly and Hattie S. Kelly, Tuskegee Institute; E. D. Nixon, president, Montgomery Division, International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Attorney Arthur D. Shores; the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham, president, Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights.

ARKANSAS: L. C. Bates, Editor, The State Press, Little Rock; T. P. Johnson; J. F. Kelley; Milton Lawson, Philander Smith College; William J. Massie, M.D.; the Rev. T. Q. McJunkins, El Dorado; Dr. M. L. Summerville, Philander Smith College; the Rev. S. P. Spottswood, president, Warren Institute.

DELAWARE: Leon Anderson, M.D.; Dr. Hilda A. Davis, Governor Bacon Health Center, Delaware City; Dr. Earl C. Jackson, Sr.; Attorney Louis L. Redding; the Rev. Donald O. Wilson, Wilmington.

FLORIDA: The Rev. J. E. Atkins; the Rev. David H. Brooks, president, Tallahassee Branch, NAACP; the Rev. James Hudson; the Rev. Oscar M. McAdams; the Rev. H. McDonald Nelson; the Rev. A. C. Redd; Peter H. Robinson, Jacksonville; the Rev. C. K. Steele, president, Inter-Civic Council, Tallahassee; the Rev. Robert H. Wilson, pastor, Bethel Baptist Institutional Church, Jacksonville.

GEORGIA: Miles L. Amos; Dr. Josephus R. Goan, Morris Brown College; the Rev. Charles B. Copher, Gammon Theological Seminary; the Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr., pastor, Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta; C. A. Scott, editor, The Atlanta Daily World; Attorney Austin Thomas Walden.

KENTUCKY: The Rev. Daniel J. Hughlett, president, Sunday School Association of Jefferson County; Dr. M.M.D. Perdue, pastor, Emanuel Baptist Church, Louisville.

LOUISIANA: Morris Arthur; Louis J. Baptiste; Edwin J. Barthe; Ford T. Bechet; Willie Bingan; Armand V. Boutte, Sr.; Elie Boyd, regional treasurer, National Postal Alliance, New Orleans; Warren Braden, Jr.; the Rev. Eugene C. Cannon; Peter Charles, Jr.; Marcus Christian; H. B. Dejoie; Jerome Detuge, Jr.; S. A. Duncan; C. C. Dejoie, Jr., editor, Louisiana Weekly, New Orleans; the Rev. Walter A. Duncan; Victor J. Duplessis; Carl V. Duvigneaud; Buthave J. Edwards; Luther L. Frazier; James E. Gayle, secretary, National Baptist Layman's Movement, New Orleans; Philip J. Gooden; W. Hayes; the Rev. E. A. Henry, president Baptist Theological Seminary, New Orleans; Ernest Lemon; A. Marsalis; Emory R. Mathews; Willie Nelson, Jr., Mrs. Naomi Parnell, past State P.T.A. president; Alfred C. Priestley; Elmer L. Randolph; Frederick Rhodes, M.D.; Bernard H. Robertson; Simon Rogers; Stanley W. Rollins; T. N. Sharpe; Llewelyn J. Soniat; William Stelby; Mr. and Mrs. Aaron A. Sutton, New Orleans; Mrs. Elsie Walter; William J. Washington; Mr. and Mrs. Anderson V. Washington, Jr.; J. L. Wicker.

MARYLAND: Mrs. Carol B. Diggs, assistant professor of music, Morgan State College; Dr. Robert L. Gill, professor of political science, Morgan State College; Bishop Edgar A. Love, Bishop, Baltimore Area, the Methodist Church; Thelma White, Baltimore.

MISSISSIPPI: Attorney James A. Burns, Meridian; P. S. Bowles, Columbia; A. L. Fielder; Joseph H. Griggs; Eugene Henderson, Jr., Lloyd G. Henderson; Bishop R. E. Jones; W. A. Jones; Hobert Kornegay; Father John LaBauve, St. Gabriel Mission, Mound Bayou; Aaron Henry; Amzie Moore.

MISSOURI: Dr. Oliver C. Cox, professor, Lincoln University.

NORTH CAROLINA: Dr. G. K. Butterfield, Wilson; Dr. Grady D. Davis, dean, Shaw University, Raleigh; John W. Fleming; George R. Greene; Attorney Samuel Mitchell, Raleigh; Bishop Frank Madison Reid, Kittrell; the Rev. O. L. Sherrill, executive secretary, State Baptist Convention of North Carolina; Dr. A. O. Steele, Johnson C. Smith University; Dr. William R. Strassner, president, Shaw University, Raleigh; L. W. Upperman, M.D., Wilmington; the Rev. T. A. Watkins, Wilson.

OKLAHOMA: Charles N. Atkins, M.D.; Sylvester Corbijal; E. L. Goodwin; J. M. Littlepage; Richard McKarson; Eddie L. Madison, Jr., Oklahoma Eagle, Tulsa; F. D. Moon, executive secretary, Oklahoma Association of Teachers; M. B. Moore, M.D.; Kathleen Ponds; A. B. Robinson; H. S. Robinson; James E. Stewart, columnist, Black Dispatch, and NAACP president, Oklahoma City; Boston E. Thomas.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Mr. and Mrs. Raymond T. Gibson, Orangeburg; Robert Earl Moran, Sr.; Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins, former secretary, South Carolina Conference of Branches, NAACP.

TENNESSEE: The Rev. W. T. Crutcher, past president, Inter-Denominational Ministerial Union, Knoxville; W. H. Faulkner, M.D., Professor, Meharry Medical College; Mrs. W. H. Faulkner, Nashville; the Rev. Frank R. Gordon, pastor, Shiloh Presbyterian Church; C. L. Hyatte, editor, The Independent, Knoxville; the Rev. R. E. James; Attorney J. J. Johnson, Knoxville; Dr. Herman H. Long, director, Department of Race Relations, American Missionary Association, Fisk University; the Rev. U. Z. McKinnon, Lane College, Jackson; O. B. Taylor, M.D.

TEXAS: Claude Baker; Dr. William R. Carline, Corpus Christi, W. J. Durham, NAACP attorney, Dallas; the Rev. E. C. Estell, Dallas; T. A. Fletcher, M.D., Houston; Henry Ford; A. L. Gordon; H. Boyd Hall, D.D.S.; the Rev. Dale H. Hansboro, and Mrs. Mary A. Hayes, Corpus Christi; W. E. Hogan, area secretary, YMCA, Dallas; Carmena Hoover; G. U. Jamison, Jr., M.D., former president, Lone Star State Medical Association, Texarkana; William Jett; Mrs. Lillian C. Leathers, George V. Leathers, Mrs. Carlyle Leonard, and the Rev. L. H. McCloney, Corpus Christi; Leon Miles; A. C. Morris; C. Powers and the Rev. and Mrs. Sidney R. Smith, Corpus Christi; Nadine Stewart; Rosa C. Travis; Edwin C. Washington, Jr., NAACP field secretary; Carter Wesley, publisher The Informer Newspapers, Houston; O. M. Whittier, M.D. and Mrs. O. M. Whittier, San Antonio; H. J. Williams, M.D., Corpus Christi.

VIRGINIA: C. L. Atkins; Arquilla R. Bradshaw; Dr. James Brewer, Ettrick; W. R. Brown, M.D.; Mrs. Mildred P. Chisley; Dr. John T. Givens, Norfolk; Dr. Edwin B. Henderson, author, former head of Department of Health and Physical Education, Washington, D.C. schools; James Jemison, Ettrick; Dr. A. G. Macklin,

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Southern Leadership Protests

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tee to Atlanta; Attorney General Eugene Cook and Roy Harris, the Georgian who helped inspire Governor Faubus in his defiance of the U.S. Government in Arkansas last year, worked closely with Committee representatives. Virtually all those subpoenaed were opponents of segregation. All but one were white.

Among those called were Carl and Anne Braden, field secretaries for SCEF. Mrs. Braden's appearance was postponed, but Carl Braden appeared before the committee and was questioned about his activities in the South, including SCEF meetings. The Committee produced a picture showing people entering a building in Atlanta for an SCEF board meeting last December, a meeting fully reported in the press at the time. The picture was apparently taken by telescopic camera by the Georgia Education Commission, which has been spying on interracial meetings in Georgia and elsewhere.

Challenges Committee

Braden challenged the committee's right to question him about his activities, and he refused on answer its questions on the grounds of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. (A statement by Braden giving his reasons for refusing to cooperate with the Committee appears on this page.) He told the Committee members they should be investigating "the atrocities against Jews and Negroes in the South." He was later cited for contempt by the House of Representatives, a charge which carries a possible year's jail sentence and a fine.

Also cited for contempt was Frank Wilkinson, of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, Los Angeles. Wilkinson for the past year has been heading a national campaign to abolish the Un-American Committee as a threat to American ideals and freedom. He was subpoenaed after he went to Atlanta at the invitation of SCEF to attend the hearings as an observer. He refused, on grounds of personal conscience, to answer any of the Committee's questions. He said that he hoped in this way to test the Committee's legality in a case that he could carry to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Segregationists Active

Conducting the Atlanta hearings were two Southern segregationists, Rep. Willis of Louisiana and Rep. Tuck of Virginia, and Rep. Jackson of California.

Post-hearing comment in the press throughout the country took a dim view of the Atlanta affair. The **Atlanta Constitution** said the hearings "seem not to have been very productive," and had brought forth virtually no indication of Communist activity in the South.

The **Afro-American** commented: ". . It did not investigate the terrible situation at Dawson, Ga., nor the action of the Georgia legislature in passing a package of defiant laws which so far have made it impossible to integrate a single school in that state. Instead, it investigated only those persons who have spoken out strongly for integration."

"Harassing Liberals"

Louis Lautier, Washington columnist for the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, said:

"The committee . . . appears bent on harassing Southern white liberals but will not investigate the subversive activities of the White Citizens Councils or the Ku Klux Klan."

The **Los Angeles Tribute** commented: "Let us go on record as saying here that we see no earthly use for the Committee . . . By the mere act of going into such a sensitive area, with such a trumped up purpose, and particularly at this time, the committee gave aid and comfort to segregationists who are about to start the Civil War over again, given the slightest provocation."

SCEF President Aubrey Williams publicly accused the Committee of "joining hands with Messrs. Griffin, Cook and Harris of Georgia to destroy and drive from the South any person or organization working for full citizenship for Negroes."

"The Committee Has No Right To Ask"

The following statement was made by Carl Braden following his citation for contempt after the Un-American Committee hearings in Atlanta:

"I refused to answer the committee's questions concerning my beliefs and associations, including questions about what took place at SCEF board meetings. Not that any of these are matters I wish to hide. Every question that was asked has been answered in court proceedings, in public reports of meetings, and in the forum of public opinion, as I am in the habit of expressing my views freely. The point is that this committee has no right to ask the questions.

"This committee, along with Senator James Eastland's committee and Senator McCarthy in his day, has created an atmosphere in America in which independent thought has become heresy and conformity is the pattern. It has wrecked lives and careers and stifled some of the best creative brains of our country. To answer the questions of such a committee is to cooperate with it and support it. It is to cooperate with evil. This I could not in good conscience do.

"In my opinion, it is the responsibility of every American who believes in the ideals of freedom on which our country is founded to oppose such inquisitions to the utmost. It is especially the responsibility of those of us who believe in and are working for a social change such as integration. For it is only in a country where free speech and independent thought are encouraged that social change can be brought about peacefully."

High Court Upheld

The questioning of Carl Braden in Atlanta revealed one major thing that had aroused the Un-American Committee's fury at him and SCEF. It was a letter sent earlier to people all over the country asking opposition to a bill in Congress which would have reinstated state sedition laws.

The letter was signed by Carl and Anne Braden as field secretaries of SCEF. It cited their experience in Louisville as an example of how such laws can be used in the South against advocates of integration. Many people responded.

In the closing days of the Congressional session, this bill and others designed to curb the Supreme Court were killed. Many organizations and individuals share the credit for the successful opposition. If SCEF contributed its bit to this effort, it considers it well worth the fury of the Un-Americans. For the ultimate target of all the bills against the Supreme Court was the Court's position against segregation.

SIGNERS of LETTER

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Petersburg; Attorney Martin A. Martin, Richmond; Dr. and Mrs. Lawrence E. Paxton, Roanoke; the Rev. W. L. Ransome, Richmond; Roberta Shores; Attorney W. Hale Thompson, Newport News; Charles Townes, M.D., Ettrick; H. T. Penn, D.D.S., Roanoke.

WASHINGTON, D. C.: The Rev. James D. Foy; Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, professor of sociology, past president, American Sociological Association, Howard University; C. Herbert Marshall, Jr., M.D., past president, National Medical Association; George B. Murphy, Jr.; Dr. William Stuart Nelson, dean, Howard University; the Rev. J. Robert Regan, Jr.; Mrs. Alice C. Trigg; Mrs. Anna Watkins.

WEST VIRGINIA: The Rev. William Claybon; Florence W. Elkins; H. A. Harris; Margaret Jeffers; E. R. Kimbrough; the Rev. Jefferson McCallum; Serelle H. Warfield; Queenie T. Williams.